

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905

FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE I

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Maasai warrior.

[Frontispiece]
[Facing p. iii]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905

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PLATE II



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Masai elder wearing a fur cloak which is supposed to resemble
a cobra's hood.

[Facing P. xvi]

INTRODUCTION

101 claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the
634 principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and
101 Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions,
634 but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present
635 distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also
known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the
Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by
refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following
instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there
614 are four clans representing genealogical not territorial
divisions: Aiser, Mengana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The
Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men
all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with
Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo
loo-7-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

561 According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the
male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first
[304] stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed
any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the
case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circum-
cised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said
561 to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by
884 a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the
[302] Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their
[291] hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders,
and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis),
[262] go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk,
[296] and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxi-
cants. They do not live with the married people, but in
342 separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with
836 whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition¹ (see
561 p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were
kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would
let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has
been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct
physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the
diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female
morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when
the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come
into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease
[764] have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-
[548] seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden
561 somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he
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[77] ¹ It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

INTRODUCTION

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is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief¹, in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

¹ The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

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INTRODUCTION

771 we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

764 The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas¹,
 [171] in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people
 766 are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which
 775 are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also
 825 reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

761 As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight
 754 or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for
 463 all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manu-
 564 factured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women.
 [563] A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

701 It would appear that the military organization, the aversion
 324 to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging
 367 in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially
 347 developed by the Masai, though some of them have been
 171 imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape
 342 of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the

[171] Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

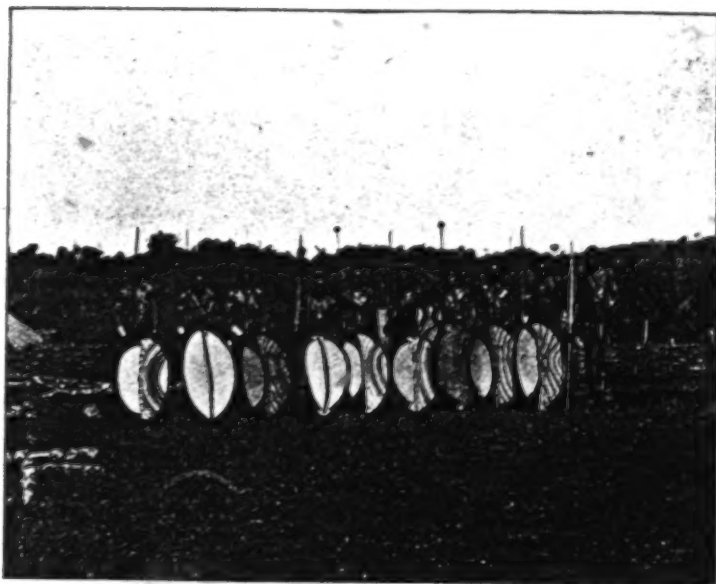
171 Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler
 291 and clearer information about the languages of the Nile
 302 is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want
 304 of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to
 516 say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time
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¹ It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905

FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE III



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Masai warriors of various 'ages' and 'districts,' each with the shield of his 'age' and 'district.'



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Scene on the Uganda Railway. Masai and other passengers.

[Facing p. xxviii]

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Masai woman, showing necklace
and 'surutya ear-rings.

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Masai woman carrying a child.

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[854]



Masai women carrying firewood.

[Facing p. 120]

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PLATE VII

J: Holbe G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



Masai woman and child, showing dress and ornaments.



Masai girls, showing ornaments.

[Facing p. 143]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE IX

142
301
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E-siangiki, or young married woman.

[Facing P. 177]

THE CATERPILLAR AND THE WILD ANIMALS 185

he went nearer, and said: 'I, who am strong and a leaper, have 539*
come. My buttocks are like the post, and God has made me vile.'

When the caterpillar heard this, he trembled, and as he saw the
frog coming nearer, he said: 'I am only the caterpillar.'

The animals who had collected near seized him, and dragged him
out; and they all laughed at the trouble he had given.

'L-omon lo-'l-murani oo 'l-Lumbwa.
The-news of-the-warrior and the-Lumbwa.

E-i-aho-o opa, n-e-pwo 'l-muran
They-gave (or did-this) formerly, and-they-go the-warriors

ol-pul
the-slaughter-house.

Ore e-ti-tyo to-'l-pul,
Now they-have-not-yet-returned from-the-slaughter-house,

n-e-pwōnu 'l-Lumbwa, n-e-'ya 'n-glahu,
and-they-come the-Lumbwa, and-they-take the-cattle,

n-e-ar sii en-gerai na-til shoo.
and-they-kill also the-child who-is-there grazing-ground.

N-e-lo en-dito a-ipot ol-alashe lenye
And-she-goes the-girl to-call the-brother her

to-'l-pul, n-e-jo: 'Le-muran,
from-the-slaughter-house, and-she-says: 'O-the-warriors,

kullo lo-'l-o-par-u' e-ipir-a
these of-the-which-smokes, it-directed-towards-becomes

en-derit il-Lumbwa, n-e-saisai
the-dust the-Lumbwa, and-she-is-near-bearing

eng-ayua, n-e-raab-a 'ng-aaho
the-black-and-white-cow, and-they-blotched-become the-small-calves

'sederi, n-e-ibelibel il-olāgok
the-sides-of-the-head, and-they-move-to-and-fro the-bulls

i-ruga, n-e-nuk-a en-gerai
the-humps, and-he-buried (or hidden)-becomes the-child

to-'ragia, oo-raah-a kurumi lani!
by-the-path, who-blotched-become lower-part-of-the-backs my.'

* Another term for the slaughter-house.

* Another name for ol-kipise, or apron of goat's skin which the warriors [291] wear when proceeding on a journey.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



Scene inside a Masai kraal, showing women's ornaments.

[912]



Masai woman cutting firewood.

[Facing p. 195]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905

FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XI



Masai drawing blood from an ox by shooting a blocked arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck.



Mock duel between two 7-oligok.

[Facing p. 257]

MASAI CUSTOMS

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Neishop ol-kila ōbo o e-musetai nabo te-'m-ŋolos anaa 'l-muran.

Nemepik ninje 'ŋigorōyok tōki 'm-ŋolosi enye, 'n-gitatin ake naānye 'l-kilani lenye too-'m-ŋolosi.

Neishop i-ŋigorōyok il-kilani aare, ōbo ōji ol-okesena o likae ōji ol-lekishopo.

Ore aii 'surutya, naa en-dōki kitok too-'l-Maasae, amu meitsū 'ŋigorōyok aatūŋgai 'surutya enye peaho ake ten eishu ol-mōruo lenye.

Naa, ten eitan e-ŋigorōyōni 'surutya aigh eitobirita en-gias, ore pe eniŋgu ol-mōruo lenye, nekwet aji alo apika 'surutya enyena, pe medol ol-mōruo meata.

Ore ten elo ol-mōruo 'n-gwapi, nemeitsū e-ŋigorōyōni enye aitan 'surutya, amu ten edol kulikae-mōruak meata, najo eiba ol-mōruo lenye.

'Surutya o ol-masangus loo-'l-mōruak oo-'n-gulye-tōkitin.

'L-ayok oo 'n-doiye oopika 'n-gulalen. Epika 'l-muran oo 'l-mōruak il-giso 'n-giyaa, neata

They wear one garment and a belt round their waists similar to the warriors.

Women wear nothing round their waists except a broad belt with which they fasten their garments.

They also wear two cloths, one called ol-okesena, and the other ol-lekishopo.

Now with regard to the women's ear-rings, they are of great consequence amongst the Masai, for no woman ventures to leave them off during her husband's lifetime.

Were a woman to take off her ear-rings and hang them up while doing her work, she would run into her hut on hearing her husband approach, and put them on again, so that he should not see her without them.

If a man goes away from home, his wife does not dare to take off her ear-rings, for were the other men to see her without them, they would tell her that her husband will hate her.

The ear-rings and arm-rings of old men, and other matters.

Boys and girls put blocks of wood into their ears, called 'n-gulalen', and warriors and old-men wear chain ear-

¹ These blocks are gradually increased in size as the lobe stretches. The proper length is attained if the lobes meet at the top of the head. Perhaps the largest Masai ear-ring in existence is one of stone weighing a lb. 14 oz., which the author recently presented to the British Museum.

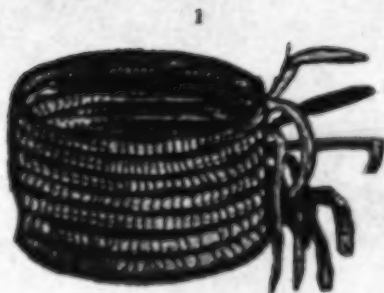
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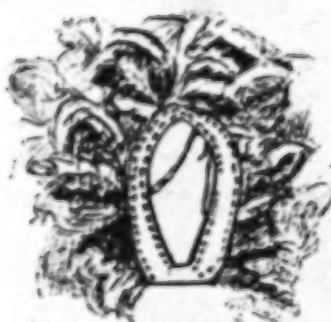
PLATE XVIII



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1. Bracelets of small iron rings bound over leather bands [1]. These bracelets may be worn by warriors who owing to their generosity are called 'N-gaminini. As many as sixty are sometimes worn by one man.

2. Warrior's cap [1].

3. Masai sandal [1].

4, 5. Masai warriors' head-dresses (ostrich-feathers and lion's skin) [1].

[Facing p. 294]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905

FL12 Masai FL12

PLATE XII



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Masai woman shaving her husband.



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Masai moving their belongings from one kraal to another.

[Facing P. 314]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12



[Facing p. 326]

The principal Medicine-man of the Masai, Ol-Onana, the son of M-Batyany; (1) wearing the cap of an official of the East Africa Protectorate, and carrying the iron poker; and (2) wearing native dress.

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881 "ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".⁷⁶ Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

[648] b) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai.⁷¹

881
304 Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (BAGGE).⁷² Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *eng alipeta*, after which he is allowed to speak.

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[491] The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[595] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not as precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[834] ⁷³ We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. FOSBROOKE states that "prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

⁷⁴ Cfr. the election of the *Oi Oi opolos* at the *Embolesai*; of the *oi amal* boys, the *aigwenani*, and the *mejengema* at the *Endungors-Engibats*; of the *oi sunoni* at the *unoto*.

[231] ⁷⁵ LEAKEY states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Masai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Masai culture.

#648
195Sir Charles
Eliot's
report.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of June, 1901, Sir Charles Eliot describes the Masai as "perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa. . . . The greater number are still warlike nomads, who roam about over the Rift Valley and the plains between Kilima Njaro and Nairobi. . . .

"The spread of law and order has somewhat curtailed their exploits, but the men are still all warriors by profession. . . .

"The Masai are found in both German and British territory. When the last Chief, Batyan, died, a dispute arose between his sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, as to the succession, and the tribe was divided. The former is now recognised as Chief of the Masai in the British sphere, and the latter of those in the German. Sendeyo has several times had trouble with the German authorities, but has always been defeated. Fortunately for us, Lenana's familiar spirit advised him that he had better make peace with the white men, because they were invincible, and he has proved our best friend and ally among the natives. In return, he receives £6 13s. 4d. a month, which is a very moderate stipend for a monarch of such considerable powers, both real and imaginary. Though I see no reason to anticipate that Lenana will change his present attitude, I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain an adequate military force in the districts which they inhabit."

[1991]
[1987]

At this date, the Masai in the East Africa Protectorate had been placed in a district of their own, called the Masailand District, whose headquarters were at Nairobi.

Inclusion of
Uganda
Provinces in
East Africa
Protectorate.

By an Order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 5th of March, 1902, the Kiambu and Naivasha Provinces of the Uganda Protectorate were included in the East Africa Protectorate, and the Naivasha Masai therefore came under the control of the latter Protectorate.

Uganda
Railway.

The construction of the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1895, and the line reached the Lake in 1901. Throughout the construction period the Masai gave no trouble whatever to the workers on the line.

Sir Charles
Eliot's report,
April, 1902.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 18th of April, 1902, Sir Charles Eliot writes:—

"I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It would, of course, be unwise to irritate them, and there is always some danger of misunderstandings in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But it appears to me that, even within the last year, the Masai have become more amenable. They have taken to wearing red blankets, and the astonishing exhibitions of nudity, which were common a year ago, are now comparatively rare. Lenana even wears a greatcoat and is one of the judges at the Nairobi cattle show."

[291]
[198]

Later in his report he writes:—"The troops, which are under the direct management of the Military Department of this Protectorate, form the 3rd Battalion of the King's African Rifles. . . . One company, at Nairobi is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the warlike powers of this tribe under their own system, but military authorities differ as to their qualifications for service in a disciplined army. Colonel Hatch's last report on their capacities is, however, very favourable, and his only criticism on them is that they cannot stand service on the coast. There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and police, for they are little disposed to cultivate, and if we are effectively to stop their ancient occupation of cattle raiding, we must give them something else to do. In some ways they answer very well: they are extraordinarily active, and have better notions of honour and loyalty than most tribes, but it would clearly be rash to trust too much to Masai troops and Masai police in Masailand."

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887

FL12 Masai FL12

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ON THE WAR PATH IN MASAI LAND.

Frontispiece.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884) 1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi



NATIVES OF NIENTS.

[p. 235]

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THE WA-KWAFI.

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disaster fell upon them shortly after, in a raid against their brethren of Kisongo. The saying that misfortunes never come singly was well exemplified by their case, for nature took up the work of ruin. A cloud of locusts settled on the land, and left not a blade of grass or other green thing, so that the cattle died in enormous numbers through starvation.



MASAI MARRIED WOMAN, NUTRI.

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While the Wa-kwafi were in this unhappy plight, the Masai of the plains to the west fell upon them and smote them hip and thigh, and thus broke up and revenged themselves upon the most powerful division of the tribe. Great numbers having lost their cattle and been reduced to starvation, were compelled to throw in their fortunes with tribes they had hitherto despised. Some found an asylum in the forests of Taveta and Kahà, and the lower slopes of Mount Meru or

855 was not even put through the horrors of the tub. Some-
 515 times, however, his mother, in a fit of affection, and imbued
 with the belief that some day he would make a name for
 himself as a smasher of skulls and a lifter of cattle, would
 make up an unctuous and odoriferous composition of grease
 and clay, and anoint him therewith till he shone forth with a
 splendour dear to the Masai heart. On these occasions he
 would strut forth with all the pride proper to a small boy
 who has just had a suit of new clothes.

858 And so life went on, and he was promoted to the rank of
 291 a boy proper. He was provided with a real bow and arrow.

304 A square piece of sheep-skin was tied over the left shoulder,
 leaving the legs quite bare. He now began to cultivate,
 not a moustache, but his ear-lobes; that is to say, he took
 means to stretch them out till they would almost touch his
 shoulder, and he could nearly put his fist through the dis-
 tended portion. This is done by first putting a slender stick
 through the lobe, and gradually replacing it by a bigger, till
 a piece of ivory six inches long can be inserted lengthwise.

857 Our hero now looked longingly forward to the day when
 he should be a warrior; but meanwhile he must employ
 himself herding the goats and sheep. This was his first

[361] occupation. He had by this time acquired some notion of
 the geography of the country around, as his parents had not
 been stationary, having been compelled to move about from
 place to place according to the pasturage. The donkeys on
 [492] these occasions conveyed their household gods, though his
 [482] mother had to carry nearly as much, and build the hut after.

He had also to accompany his parents in moving up from
 the plains to the highlands in the dry season and *vice versa*
 in the wet season. Beyond these studies in practical geo-
 869 graphy his education proceeded in a very irregular fashion.
 He learned something of the mystery of the universe by
 hearing his elders continually howl out prayers by the hour
 together to some unseen Being called Ngäi (God, or the
 heavens). He heard also that the place of Ngäi was among
 the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro, or that the thunders of
 [823] Donyo Ngäi (an active volcanic mountain) were His
 voice.

It is very pleasing to think of Moran at this period
 reclining under a bush or standing watchfully over his flock
 [516] with one foot brought up to his knee and supported by his
 bow, trying to penetrate the great problem as to the where,
 whence, and whither of life. We can imagine him appeal-

881 sandals, they chose a handsome shield of buffalo hide,
 [714] beautifully made, elliptical in shape, and warranted to stand
 a tremendous blow from a spear. The price being asked, a
 bullock was mentioned as the very lowest cost price. But
 the unfortunate maker had to be content with a scraggy
 sheep—and a blow. This purchase accomplished—for the
 Masai never *make* shickls or spears, though there is nothing
 in the possession of which they pride themselves so much—
 881 they returned to the kraal, and then called for an El-konono.
 563 This is an inferior race kept in servitude to the Masai, for
 whom they make spears and swords. They do not go to war,
 and are not allowed to intermarry with their superiors.
 They all speak Masai, though it is believed they have a
 language of their own. In response to the call a miserable,
 half-starved object appeared with a selection of most
 881 murderous-looking weapons. After a careful examination
 411 Moran selected a spear, with a blade two feet and a half
 long, a wooden handle fifteen inches, and a spike at the end
 about one foot and a half. The blade had an almost uniform
 width of from two to three inches, up to near the top, where
 it abruptly formed a point. A sword and a knobkerry of
 formidable appearance completed his warlike equipment.

881 These important acquisitions made, our hero now pro-
 ceeded to dress himself up as became his new character.
 [302] He first worked his hair into a mop of strings, those falling
 over the forehead being cut shorter than the rest. Instead
 of the ivory ear-stretcher hitherto used, he put in a swell
 [301] ear ornament formed of a tassel of iron chain. Round his
 neck he put a bracelet of coiled wire, and round his wrists a
 neatly formed bead mitten. On his ankles he bound a
 strip of the black hair of the *colobus* (monkey) of Central
 Africa. A glorious layer of grease and clay was plastered on
 his head and shoulders. This completed, he donned a very
 [291] neat and handsomely decorated kid-skin garment, of very
 scanty dimensions, which served to cover his breast and
 shoulders, but hardly reached below the waist, and thus
 stood forth the complete military masher, ready for love or
 war.

882 And now the great step of his life was taken. Thus far
 he had lived in the kraal of the married people, and accord-
 ingly had to comport himself as "only a boy." Now he
 proceeded to a distant kraal in which were none but young,
 unmarried men and women. To keep up his dignity and
 supply him with food his father provided him with a number

[Text continues on p. 250]

882 of bullocks. Reaching the kraal, our friend found himself among a large number of splendidly built young savages—indeed the most magnificently modelled men conceivable. And here let me for a moment pause in my story to indulge in a passing word of description.

142 There is, as a rule, not one of the El-moran under six feet (I am speaking of a superior clan). Their appearance, however, is not suggestive of great strength, and they show little of the knotted and brawny muscle characteristic of the ideal Hercules or typical athlete. The Apollo type is the more characteristic form, presenting a smoothness of outline which might be called almost effeminate. In most cases the nose is well raised and straight, frequently as good as any European's (though passing into the negro type in the lower class, such as Wa-kwafi). The lips also vary from the thin and well-formed down to the thick and everted. The eyes are bright, with the sclerotic whiter than is common in Africa. The slits are generally narrow, with a Mongolian upward slant. The jaws are rarely prognathous, while the hair is a cross between the European and the negro, rarely in piles, but evenly spread over the head. Hair is scarcely in any case seen on the face or any part of the body. The cheek-bones are in all remarkably prominent, and the head narrow both above and below. The teeth and gums of almost every one are such as I have already described, though I think I have neglected to mention that the two lower middle incisors are extracted. Tatooing is not practised; but every Masai is branded with five or six marks on the thigh.

[304] Such are the main characteristics of the El-moran; but before we resume our narrative let us note a few facts about the young damsels—the Ditto—who are soon to be flirting with our hero.

Happily facts support the verdict of gallantry when I say that they are really the best-looking girls I have ever met with in Africa. They are distinctly ladylike in both manner and physique. Their figures are slender and well formed, without the abnormal development about the hips characteristic of the negro. They share, like the men, the dark gums, and the bad sets of teeth. The hair is shaved off totally, leaving a shiny scalp. As to dress, they are very decent, and almost classical, if a stinking greasy hide can have anything to do with things classical. They wear a dressed bullock's hide from which the hair has been scraped. This is tied over the left shoulder, passing under the right

[302]

291

ORNAMENTS OF A MASAI DAMSEL. 251

arm. A beaded belt confines it round the waist, leaving only one limb partly exposed. Frequently it is slipped off the shoulder, and depends entirely from the waist, leaving the bosom exposed. Their ornaments are of a very remarkable nature. Round the legs from the ankles to the knees telegraph wire is coiled closely in spiral fashion. So awkward is this ornament that the wearer cannot walk properly, she cannot sit down or rise up like any other human being, and she cannot run. Round the arms she has wire similarly coiled both above and below the elbow. Round the neck more iron wire is coiled—in this case, however, horizontally—till the head seems to sit on an inverted iron salver. When the leg-ornaments are once on they must remain till finally taken off, as it requires many days of painful work to fit them into their places. They chafe the ankles excessively, and evidently give much pain. As they are put on when very young, the calf is not allowed to develop, and the consequence is, that when grown up the legs remain at a uniform thickness from ankle to knee—mere animated stilts, in fact. The weight of this armour varies according to the wealth of the parties, up to thirty pounds. Besides the iron wire, great quantities of beads and iron chains are disposed in various ways round the neck.

Such, then, were the people that now greeted Moran, who, being a novice, had to suffer a good deal of chaff from both sexes. He was, however, soon initiated into the mysteries of a warrior kraal, and had seen a bit of life. The strictest diet imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff, beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the flesh of all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats, were alike eschewed. To eat any of those articles was to be degraded—to lose caste; to be offered them was to be insulted in the deepest manner. As if these rules were not strict enough, he must needs not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither must he take it along with milk: So many days were devoted entirely to the drinking of new milk, and then, when carnivorous longings came over him, he had to retire with a bullock to a lonely place in the forest, accompanied by some of his comrades, and a Ditto to act as cook. Having scrupulously made certain that there was no trace of milk left on their stomachs by partaking of an extremely powerful purgative, they killed the bullock either with a blow from a rangu or by stabbing it in the back of the neck. They then

MASAI BURIAL.

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creatures, with the vultures and the storks, tore their flesh under the light of the moon. Nothing remained but a couple of grim skulls and some bloody bones when the sun rose over the grassy plain in the morning; and the young urchins of the kraal kicked them about and laughed as they threw them at one another. 764 [524]



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MASAI MARRIED WOMEN, NUTRI.

Such is the history of the commonplace life of Moran as retailed to me by men who had lived with him as boy, warrior, and husband, and for whose accuracy and truthfulness I can vouch. The next traveller will listen to the same story, and will doubtless be able to verify the main features of the narrative. 114

is called an *ol smal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *ol smal* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg an ox for food from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village. [561] [411] [574]

The ceremony commences with a dance called *engibata*; for this, the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras. [431] [361] [232] [714] [535]

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thigh-bells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wand, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok*—the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, some of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *ol-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders break the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—presumably as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife. [291] [782]

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

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ON THE MOVE — OM lady leading donkey.

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MASAI HERD BOY

The one-leg stance characteristic of Hamitic peoples.

[Facing p.12]

9: Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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711



On left —

LAIKON MBEITA (17)

Below—

**WARRIOR IN FULL
CEREMONIAL DRESS**

wearing lion-killer's head-
dress with ostrich-plumes on
spear as a sign of peace.

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[Facing p. 18]

9: Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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SENJOR MORAN — blowing Kaka horn.

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NEWLY CIRCUMCISED YOUTH.

[Facing p. 30]

L. S. B. LEAKEY.—Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony. 187

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run 553
about a small run is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by
them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the
assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living
or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named
is (or was) good-looking and of good character, so otherwise the child would grow up
ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but 551
after initiation a boy is always called "son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own
name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named some of his
own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'"

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the 304
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the
permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth.
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this 852
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, 812
water and food can be poured in through the hole so formed. 858

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 5 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced
in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding
cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears
are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are
stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase
in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their 524
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing. 291
and the boys have small sandals made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted 262-
to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

PART II.—BOYHOOD.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the 857
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help
herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to
start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it 836
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon 833
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they 884
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, 83A

*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LX, 1930, Plate XIII.*561
535

FIG. 1.

411
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→791
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FIG. 2.



FIG. 4.

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FIG. 3.



FIG. 1.—Lobbo E-Undo. WARRIOR DANCING IN THE MARYATA. SUN IN BACKGROUND.

FIG. 2.—Lobbo E-Undo. WARRIOR DANCING.

FIG. 3.—Lobbo E-Undo. OL-OTTO, OL-GENO NGILNE AND 'L-LUWERAN (LEFT TO RIGHT), WITH O-CHUMBA SUN IN BACKGROUND.

FIG. 4.—CHUMU WITH THE MENTAL CLOTH OF HIS FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466-A]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LI, 1930, Plate XIV.

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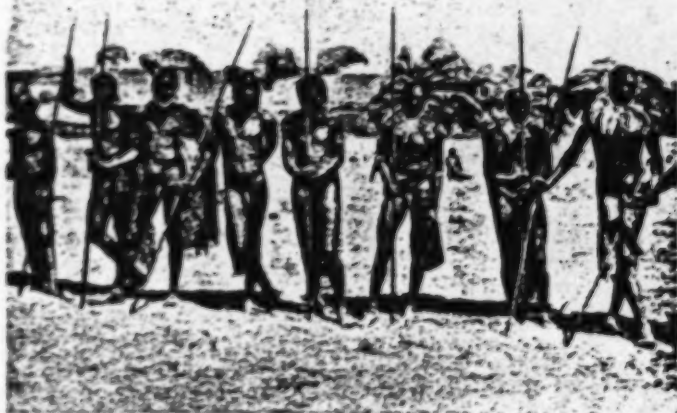


FIG. 1.—*Loita E-U-ma*. WARRIORS WITH OSTRICH FEATHER HEAD-DRESSES.

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FIG. 2.—*Loita E-U-ma*. UNDECORATED WOMEN.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI.

[P. 466-B]

Betrothal

- 584 A man usually chooses his wife himself and, after obtaining the girl's consent, asks his father to approach her parents; if they agree the girl's head is smeared with fat, and she may no longer live in the same kraal as her betrothed. According to Hollis, a man makes the first approach to the girl's father himself, giving him first tobacco, and later on when the girl is older, more tobacco and honey. It is considered wrong for a girl to become pregnant during the betrothal period, and the engagement may be broken off, a custom of which advantage is taken by girls who are betrothed to a man they do not wish to marry, since betrothals are sometimes arranged without the girl's consent. Fathers, for instance, sometimes arrange betrothals between their young sons and daughters in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them (as also among the Nandi); and betrothals may take place between warriors and babies, and even unborn girls.

Regulation of Marriage

- 582 This depends on three things: clan, age-set, and kinship. (a) According to Hollis, marriage between clans is allowed, but sub-clans are exogamous groups (see below, p. 119); a man may marry a woman of another sub-clan of his own clan. Merker says he may not marry a woman of his mother's sub-clan. Tombo ole Mbaei, however, says that though intermarriage between clans is allowed, each clan is an exogamous group; Fosbrooke agrees that the clan is the exogamous group (see p. 120). (b) A man may not marry a woman who is by custom considered as belonging to the age-set (*ol-porror*) senior to his own, to his own age-set, or (if he belongs to the Right-hand Circumcision) to a woman of the Left-hand Circumcision. But he may marry one of the same generation¹⁰ (*ol-aji*). See below, p. 117, for details of the age-set system. (c) A man may not marry a woman whose relationship to him is closer than that of third cousin, and then only if they call each other *o-le-sotua* and *en-o-sotua*.

Bridewealth

- 583 Payment of bride-cattle establishes the husband's rights in his wife's procreative faculties and over the children she bears him. The numbers of stock paid seem to vary slightly. Merker gives them as three cows and one ox to the girl's father (the ox being eaten at the marriage feast), and a ewe and ram to her mother (the ram also being eaten). Hollis says the bride's father is given three heifers and two oxen, one of which is slaughtered "at the door of the hut"; on account of the other ox the man and his father-in-law call each other *pa-hitey*, "giver and receiver of an ox." To the bride's mother are given two rams, which are slaughtered, and a ewe, on account of which he and his mother-in-law call each other *pa-ker* (sheep). Fosbrooke gives the number as two oxen and three cows or heifers, including the "*pa-hitey*" ox.

Marriage

- 585 There appears to be little ceremonial at a wedding. The chief occurrence is a feast at the bride's home, of which the bride and bridegroom do not partake. This is followed by a ceremonial journey of the bride to her husband's home; she wears a freshly oiled garment, carries a gourd ornamented with cowries, and is accompanied by two men and two old women; on her arrival, she is given a child to feed. Thomson says that on the day of marriage and for a month afterwards (if I understand him aright) the husband wears female dress.¹¹ If the husband is still a warrior he may not have sexual intercourse with his wife, though they may live together at

¹⁰ Merker, p. 47.

¹¹ Discrepancies between authorities may sometimes be due to difference of tribe, and not always to incorrect information or mere misunderstanding.

631 chief; but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the
 648 native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each
 division (Il-Purko, Il-Damat, etc.), to replace the original council of the *ol-osho*.
 These Councils were composed of *il-siguonak*, elders, and senior warriors; and the
 presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under
 the Councils were 46 headmen, some of them *il-siguonak*. The Reserve was divided
 into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of
 the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an
 Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into
 which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades,
 headmen (styled chiefs) and sub-headmen.

In Tanganyika, the laibon was at first regarded as the head of the Kisonko; but
 since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council
 was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing
 only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with repre-
 sentatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the
 Masai Council. There are 41 paid headmen.

SOURCES: Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse,
 1933; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication; Hailey, 1950.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

CRAFTS

Housing

342 The Masai hut, *enk-aji*, pl. *ink-ajjikh*, is a low structure with a flat or flattish
 361 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together.
 The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top,
 is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather hides are laid on top
 to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals.
 (See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tiamus have thatched roofs of
 the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called *ol-gobor* is
 used for a temporary halt where pasture is poor.

Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

714 Warriors wear a small calf- or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a
 small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a head-
 dress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of vultures' feathers, a cap made of
 a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece
 [301] of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the horn
 arm-clamp called *e-rrop*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the
 upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells.
 A type of garment called *en-toros* is worn by warriors on certain occasions: Hollis
 says when going on a raid after electing an *ol-aumoni* (*ol-otuno*); John Tombo ole
 Mbaei, when they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear
 skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys
 wear a sheepskin.

Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt.
 They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and
 lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled
 iron wire, *i-sawutia*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Nandi *tsok*), and
 291 some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck,
 301 and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck
 ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the
 waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and
 necklaces.

15: Margetts

D-5

(1958) 1963

FL12 Masai FL12



FIG. 1. THE GATHERING OF THE MURAN

(a) About 500 muran gathering in a circle; (b) Seated and ready to start the heart and finger-ring ritual.

[P.191-A]

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15: Margetts

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(1958) 1963

FL12 Masai FL12



FIG. 2. THE HEART

(a) Heart rubbed on the forehead; (b) Muran takes a bite of the heart.

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[P. 191-B]

15: Margetts

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(1958) 1963

FL12 Masai FL12



FIG. 3. THE HIDE STRIP

(a) Hide strip is placed on middle finger of right hand; (b) Muran admires his ring.

[P. 191-C]

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/11 cont./



Emil Müller photo.

III. 1. Masai woman from below Kibongoto.

177 That various customs of theirs and words of their language also found entry among the Negroes follows automatically.

619 While some travelers recognize at least a certain relationship
144 between the three branches, others claim to have observed such
142 great somatic differences between them that one might be doubtful
114 about their racial unity and ask oneself whether the Wadoróbo and the Wakuafi of certain colonies should not be counted among the Negroes. This error is explained by the fact that those travelers have come into contact with them only superficially, /12/ drew conclusions going too far from isolated individuals to the generality, so that they regarded the Wakuafi, strongly mixed with Negroes, as pure, and Negroes strongly mixed with Masai blood as Wakuafi.

/12 cont./

In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches¹_A the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negroes and did not take Negroes into their community.



Fonck II phot.

III. 2. Three Masai women.

Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expeditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual
 1, [i.e., the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo
 --Analyst]

/14 cont./



Emil Müller photo

III. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

The Wakuari protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandorobo, the El gasurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asä and

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/20 cont./

understand what such a success meant. Mbatyan demanded thousands of workers, and they moved obediently, in endless long lines, men, women and children, toward the steppe area of Kisoŋgo, lying



Merker phot.

III. 4. Zendeo, the present chief of the Masai.

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[462]
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west of the mountain, where the mighty one resided, like his ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby -- a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes, the Masai became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mombasa, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

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The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which Mbatyan gave those seeking help, and whose chief ingredient quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the ol mogongora liana, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

/25 cont./

342 the nearby hearth (en gema), which is formed by three stones lying
 [354] beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce
 [313] on the steppe; one must therefore use the smoky brushwood. At
 the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the woman (e
ruat kētē = small bed) and beside it that for the man (e ruat kitok =
 big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered
 with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from
 each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the



Merker phot.

III. 6. Masai hut.

The carbine standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Protectorate Troops.)

342 latter a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments.
 [352] The bed consists of a pad of dried grass over which two dehaired
 [237] neat-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure
 [233] (ol ale l el ascho) into which young calves are put for the night.
 There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (ol ale l
ol balelon) for young goats and sheep, if these are not housed in
 small pens built beside or on the hut.

361 /26 cont./

417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts
351 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny
824 branches placed around them.
233

621 One distinguishes between kraals for the married (eng an el
361 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live
the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the
latter the warriors (ol morani, el moran) with their mothers and
the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One
sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The
author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to
one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-
barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of
widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and



Merker photo.

III. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

/31 cont./

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concerned. One who is expelled from the family because of bad behavior is, as a rule, taken in again upon payment of a head of cattle or a goat. Moreover he hands over the animal to a man friendly to his lineage. The latter takes it to the father of the one expelled and requests reacceptance for him. If it is refused, the one expelled seeks and finds acceptance in the same manner as the detached one. Detachment and expulsion occur only in very

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Merker phot.

III. 12. Kraal of the married.

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[888]

rare cases and have no influence on the right of succession. The rights of the head over the individual members of the family lapse legally upon their marriage, but not yet practically, since, conditioned by attachment and respect for the elder, lasting concessions are made to him in questionable matters.

/39 cont./

352 (ol origa, el origasch), on which people sit to eat. The stool is
[322] made out of one piece, in that one first roughly hews the block with
412 an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons (en
giligo, 'n giligoni) (1).

[192] 1. Formed from the Dschagga /Chagga/ word
giligo; the Masai do not have a word of their
own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons
in former times.

stirring sticks for thick porridge (ol gurtet, el gurteta), whisks (Fig.
13), 1 ax (Fig. 14) (en dólú, 'n dólú), and a couple of knives
(Fig. 15) (ol alem) complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays



Ill. 14. Woman with pack holder.

412 spoons (formerly only the sticks and whisks) are also carved out of
[237] wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes; sometimes
it consists of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a vertebra from a

/52 cont./

854

the ground. The father almost never carries the child on his arm, but only picks it up now and then /52/ for a moment. As soon as the child cries, even at night, the mother, or in her absence another

[533]

woman, gives it the breast. If this does not help, one tries to quiet the little one or lull it to sleep by rocking it in the arms or by singing. One such familiar lullaby is the following: oh, jejai, tobolo l

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airoirid' baba telai l eiy an ai kitok ai in free translation: Oh, you my little rascal, I say to you, grow and become big in my big kraal.

Another song, which, like most songs, first originated during the singing and refers to recent events, runs roughly: "What then do these El muleiyan want here (two women belonging to the tribe of the El muleiyan were standing nearby), they who did not bring the woman in childbirth (that is, in this case, the woman singing the song) anything to eat? The Muleiyan are fools because they are not pleased about the children. In the future the woman in childbirth will have to sit down in the shade in order not to feel so hungry, or she will /54/ have to ask for food in the kraal of a warrior who brought home booty from a war against the El datua." In the last words there is mockery insofar as the brother of one of the two El muleiyan women, along with other warriors, had been recently driven back by the El



Merker photo.

III. 15. Maasai woman with child on her back.

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[18 cont.]

stamping steps, whereby, singing, it is prayed to 'Ng al that he may let the boy become big and [17] make a strong warrior out of him, one who will capture much livestock and then in old age may own a kraal as large as this one is here: then the people enter the kraal where the men again apply themselves to finishing the honey beer, while the women amuse themselves with dancing, for which they sing with shrill voices songs of praise and prayer for 'Ng al. The success of a festival is judged by the degree that the men's intoxication and the women's gaiety reach at the end of it. Soon after the first name-giving, the second follows, at which the boy receives a name from his father, by which only the latter calls him. More rarely



C. G. Schilling's photo.

III. 18. Dancing women.

a small festival is also celebrated here. The most important name-giving does not take place until the child can walk. On this occasion the boy receives the name that he bears as his principal name for his whole life, and, to be sure, an elder brother of the mother or,

/80 cont./

881
[791] The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by the al oiboni. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years (7 eri omurayaki 7 aijok) begin, that is, the following four to five /81/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all [634] the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El ilherin always takes place on the 30th day of the Masai month.

for the circumcision of the first division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (al hudi) and that this age class is given a definite name by the al oiboni. The circumcision period is ended by the al oiboni ordering the al gahia. This is a festival which is celebrated by the first boys in



ILL. 17. Masai boys.

C. G. Bartholomew photo.

18: Merker--85 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustration from p. 64 of the original source./

881
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Karin photo.

III. 18. Boys just circumcised = es sibello.

881 /85 cont./
591 indications that she is about to become a woman, she returns to her

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L. G. Schilling photo.

III. 19. Young Masai girl.

881 mother's hut. If several girls of the kraal are in the same situation,
[591] the mothers agree /88/ on a definite day (1)

- [613] 1. The circumcision of the girls belonging to the
El kiberón always takes place on the 24th day of
the Masai month.

for which they then secure an old woman experienced in circumcision.
Otherwise they wait a few more weeks; perhaps a girl who is ready will
will be found, since one need not necessarily wait for the aforementioned
indications, or, if by chance a circumcision of the boys is about to take

/66 cont./

88| place, they wait until that day. Shared pain is half the pain, and a certain coyness is part of good breeding among the brown Masai maidens too. The circumcision of boys and girls on one day takes place at different spots, and, while no female creature may come

near the boys' place, so too no man or boy may enter the hut where, in the presence of her mother, the daughter is circumcised. On the day before the latter's head has been shaved and her hair tossed under the skin of the bed. She has removed all her ornaments and has clothed herself with a long apron (*ol g²la. e¹ gelani*), which her mother has made. The latter is now trying /67/ to make the parts coming into question numb



Jos. Deeg phot.

Ill. 20. Half-grown Masai girl.

with cold water and, during this, encouraging her little daughter sitting on the ground with beating heart. The operation is a simple excision of the clitoris and is performed with a sharpened piece of sheet iron (*ol moronja*) such as is used to shave the head. Then the small wound is washed with milk, which, together with the blood shed, seeps into the ground. A blood-stanching agent is not used here either. Until complete healing the girl remains, as *es siboli* (pl. *es sibolio*), in the hut of her mother. Instead of the bird skins and ostrich feathers that the boys put on, she wears around her forehead a ring plaited out

561 /68/ to enjoy, to the end of his life, respect and esteem based on his life's experience and his father- or fatherlike-position, which he occupies in relation to his immediate and more extended sphere.

A female individual, until her circumcision, is regarded as a girl (en ditō, n dōje), is called es siboli (pl. es sibolio) during the circumcision, until the healing of the wound; after that she is first called e siēngiki (pl. siēngikin), after the beginning of the menopause 'n akitrok (pl. n akitwa) or en daŋgile (pl. n daŋgilēn), the latter term also often used formerly instead of e' ŋigorojoni = married woman, whereas now one only rarely hears it with this meaning. As soon as her head hair turns gray, she is called Koko = old woman.

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Marker photo.

Ill. 21. Men and woman with child.

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The connections between age grade and social position are to be discussed later. Here there are to be discussed first of all the terms of address that are customary between members of the same age grade and of different age grades and -- if an injury or insult is not intended -- must be used.

/68 cont./

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The terms of address between male individuals:

ol aijoni to ol mórúo: ol bayan,
ol barnoti to ol mórúo: ol bayan,
ol morāni to ol mórúo: ol bayan,
ol mórúo to ol mórúo: ol mórúo.

/69/

ol aijoni to ol morāni: lé morāni,
ol barnoti to ol morāni: ērō,
ol morāni to ol morāni: ērō,
ol mórúo to ol morāni: 'l aijoni.

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III. 22. Older men.

Merker phot.

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III. 23. Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

Merker phot.

/69 cont./

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ol aijoni to ol barnoti lè morāni,
ol barnoti to ol barnoti ērō,
ol morāni to ol barnoti ērō, if slight age difference,
ol morāni to ol barnoti ol barnoti, if greater age difference,
ol mōruo to ol barnoti 'l aijoni.

/70/

ol aijoni to ol aijoni ērō,
ol barnoti to ol aijoni ērō,
ol morāni to ol aijoni 'l aijoni,
ol mōruo to ol aijoni 'l aijoni.



Merker phot.

The terms of address between female individuals:

• [291]
→

en dītō to kokot koke,
es siēngiki to kokot jējo (= mother) or
koko.

koko to kokot eng aini ai, which
means that the husbands on
both sides belong to the
same ol borōr or ol adjl.

Ill. 24. Mother with children.

en dītō to es siēngiki: n akitok,
es siēngiki to es siēngiki 'siēngiki, if only slight age difference,

es siēngiki to es siēngiki jējo, if greater age difference,
koko to es siēngiki na gerai (= child).

en dītō to en dītō: nairo,
es siēngiki to en dītō: na gerai,
koko to en dītō: na gerai or na gerai ai (= my child).

The terms of address between male and female individuals:

ol aijoni to kokot koko or jējo,
ol barnoti to kokot koko, jējo or 'n akitok,
ol morāni to kokot koko, jējo or 'n akitok,
ol mōruo to kokot e' ŋgorojo, if slight age difference,
ol mōruo to kokot koko or 'n akitok if greater age difference.

/72 cont./



C. G. Schillings photo.

Ill. 25. Warriors.

561 It is to be inserted here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class in which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the en gebäta festival are reckoned.

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634 [791] /73/ As long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ol sigwenani), whom we shall meet again in the warrior kraal. But if those belonging to one ol boror are all married, they are given a head for the entire district, the ol aunoni, whom not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol oilboni to arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the ol boror members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the ol oilboni and put their request before him.

/73 cont./

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[791]
[787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni.

[554] This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol boror members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os singira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon

[301]
[291] as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ni gononigo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tdarawá jo ijk en gischon, that is, remain poor,

[556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor: if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain

[431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574]
[721] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol boror members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

56/
70/

/74 cont./

The strict organization of the Masai war power rests primarily on the institution of the age classes. With circumcision the youth enters the army to perform his -- the universal -- military service, and, to be sure, as ol barnoti. His age class is that of the recruits and usually forms, together with the next higher one, that of the warriors, the peacetime strength of the standing army.

The next age class, the youngest of the married men, which performs no war service in peacetime, but also sets out in times of war, may /75/ be regarded as reserves and counted in the standing army. The older age classes take up arms only to defend their own district. There are two exceptions to this regular procedure. If a warrior feels still too young to leave the warrior standing along with the other ol boror members, he joins the next younger age class and is designated as ol gaitul (pl. el gaitu) of it. This is done especially often by those who belong to the last course of an ol boror, the el oirogua. The other instance occurs when a youth is heir to large herds of livestock and he lacks another man to be concerned



C. G. Schilling's phot.

III. 26. Older men.

/75 cont./

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with managing them. He must then take over the property himself, and he marries soon after circumcision. He is taken into the youngest age class of the married ones and designated as ol hosaniki (pl. el hosanik) of it. In the age class of the recruits as well as in that of the warriors, those living in one district form a company 100 to 200 men strong. In order to prevent a company from becoming too large through the presence of too great a number of boys fit for circum-

[791]

cision, which would be injurious to discipline, they have the remedy of circumcision by divisions. Then a special company is formed out of one or even two annual courses, which the ol oiboni does by the bestowal of a special name. /76/ Otherwise every age class gets

[791]

only one name at first, which is then often replaced by a new one after a successful, larger war expedition as a distinction for bravery shown or, more correctly, for particularly rich spoils, but only when the ones concerned have become older warriors. The ol oiboni gives the next name to the ol borri after it has received an ol aunoni; he bestows the last one with the union of two el borri into an ol adji, which then bears this new name until it dies out.

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The present (that is, 1901) youngest age class is called el gischoh; it is the first of an association whose second has not yet been formed. The next association consists of the younger el kipuani and the older el meruturut. The latter were called el ngarebut as youths and were given the name el meruturut after a successful war against the Ukamba area. The next association is the 'L aimerr, consisting of the younger el kitoib and the older el merischo. The former, as



Merker phot.

recruits, were called el manguscha; after a war against Uhehe, el ngischangob; and after the selection of the ol aunoni, el kitoib. The el merischo as youths were called el metarohi; after a successful war against Laikipia as el moran, they received the name es sogon; and after the ol aunoni selection; their present name.

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← III. 27. Very old man.

/76 cont./

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According to this, the institution of the age classes together with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors.

[703]

The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000

Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The *ol oiboni* gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

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As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised exchange the long apron (*ol gela*, *el gelāni*) for the short skin-cape (*e megiti*, /77/ *megitin*), again put on their ornaments, anoint their bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their heads, set out as *el barnot* (sing. *ol barnoti*, formed from *barno* = bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the *ol geten* | *ol gutui*. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves. The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and nothing but meat. For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.

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/77 cont./

561 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /78/ may choose
791 a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the
speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest
el barnot. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beautiful
weapons. Each ol barnoti has brought along a fine head of
[431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the delegates as a gift for the ol oilboni. When they have then presented their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the name el gischon. The ones circumcised during the period from 1896 to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean: the generation after those weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the



Ill. 28. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

Brown phot.

561 delegation has been dismissed by the ol oilboni, they return to their
791 native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new
[714] name and then consult about the choice of a shield escutcheon.

/80 cont./



Donner phot.

III. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
174 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the En gidon. This
conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the
emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time im-
memorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today; thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The
illustrations of Plate 2 show a collection of lineage emblems. We
see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the
shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the
lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each
age class made up its own.

1. [See p. 608--Analyst]
A

[Warrior Kraal]

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682
[613]
[614]
[669]

/88 cont./

of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then

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C. G. Schilling's photo.

Ill. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

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[613]
[614]
[669]

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol arabal (pl. el arabali), not en djore (n djorin) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

[192]
[126]

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol bul (forest meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

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[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./

701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en daa e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[224] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]



C. G. Schilling's photo.

III. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en daa e kat' are, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eng ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siagólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

/98 cont./

727

it for the night. Thus captives are not taken. The men from the enemy who can be taken are killed, but not mutilated; the women, on the contrary, are usually spared and freed. It also happens, however, that those warriors who are undertaking their first expedition also strike down women, in order not to return as ebor além. But

[784]

even in this case pregnant women are spared, for it is believed that God punishes the murderer of a pregnant woman by the death of his own children. Only very exceptionally does one take along a few

[583]

women or children. The latter, however, do not become slaves; rather, the captured woman very soon becomes the lawful wife of the one who captured her, just as he also regards the kidnapped child exactly like his own. A ceremony of adoption does not exist; the man simply hands the child over to his wife, who treats it like her own. The next day they march

[597]

on toward the home kraal; in the evening a thorn fence is again built, and at the same time the share of the booty destined for the ol aunoni is set apart. The total booty of every war expedition is given a name. This is determined on this second evening, while the men sit eating. It is called, for example, kirima, because men fell on both sides. Other names are

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bögörē if the provisions in living livestock taken along on the expedition did not last, and the warriors, out of hunger and con-

trary to the existing custom, had to eat tree fruit; ngörē if the El moran suffered on the way because of a shortage of water; ngnīria, formed from the call matīngīria špo, that is, approximately: "only courage, if it is not possible, what does it matter," a frequent saying if one believes oneself inferior to the opponent in strength. The next morning, early, before the departure, the leaders distribute the booty



Merker photo.

Ill. 40. On picket duty.

[703]

18: Merker--167 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Illustration from p. 126 of the original source./



Prins Paul Demidoff de Sax Douane phot.

Ill. 41. Young Maasai warrior

/135 cont./

XVI.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- Leather dressing. -- The individual articles of clothing. -- "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. -- The hair style of the warriors. -- Painting of the face and body. -- Caustic and incised decorative scars. -- Teeth. -- Fingernails.

• 29 | Cloth materials, such as the caravans from the coast engaged in
17 | the ivory trade in the Masai steppes take along trade goods, have not
[439] yet ever really succeeded in being adopted among the Masai.

For the trade this is, of course, regrettable, but for one who comes into frequent, daily contact with the people it is really *fortunate*, for there is scarcely an uglier and more repulsive sight than a native decked out as completely as possible in European clothing, especially if one sees him thus amidst his fellow tribesmen in their traditional garb exactly suitable for them. Not only is the eye offended, however, but also the nose and further many another. One should merely consider that the people have never learned how to manage with such clothing and that generations will pass before its use has to a certain extent become part of their flesh and blood.

[296] /136/ A cleansing of the things therefore does not occur and likewise the regular drawing off and on. The native hangs on his body whatever he gets and keeps it on until it falls off by itself, so to speak. Naturally he always stinks and as a rule also harbors all kinds of vermin. One day I met with a European caravan a Masai youth whose former master had departed some six weeks previously and, upon leaving, had given him a pair of shoes. The boy told me quite innocently that he had put the shoes on at the time and had never removed them since! The people of the caravan, European and Colored, confirmed this statement. Such aesthetic aberrations are very rare exceptions among the Masai, however. Every sensible person disdains bedecking himself with such trash, and that boy would also /Pl. 43 appears here/ come to his senses again when the shoes were in shreds. From then on I always saw him only in Masai dress.

281 /136 cont./

- [324] The other skins, after they have been well dried and /137/ dehaired by scraping with a sharp ax, are treated by a vigorous rubbing with a tanning extract. The bark of *Terminalia Brownii* Fresen var. Merkeri Engl. (oil bogol) is pounded and made into an extract by being boiled in water. The finished leather is soft and pliable.
- [462] Leather dressing is women's work. The scraped-off cattle hair is carefully hidden in the thorn fence of the kraal, so that the cattle do not eat it and become sick from it.

- 291
[294] The sole article of clothing of the warriors is the skin cape (e megitl, megitla); it consists of calf skins sewed together into a strip approximately 110 centimeters long and 64 centimeters wide. The entire strip of skin is folded over once crosswise, and of its four corners the two top ones, lying one on the other, are sewed or tied together. One puts the cape on by sticking the head and left arm through the arm loop on the right shoulder, then, once, and each hip are covered, left shoulder and right hip have the latter so that the sword found there is free. The warrior cape is the only article of clothing that is never dehaired. The hair side is worn on the outside and, if carefully chosen in color, is often quite attractive, since only the silky-lustrous skin of calves unborn or a day or two old are used. Often the upper and lower edges of the cape are sewed with one or two rows of small red or white beads. Only very rarely is it also made of other skins; thus, the author saw two made out of that of the dark-green long-tailed monkey (*Cercopithecus albicinctus*). Boys and men wear tied over the seat to the sword belt a three-cornered piece of leather to sit on (Fig. 34) (oil gabewe, el gabewe), made of deer's hide or calfskin, for protection when sitting, against the thorns and prickly spines of the grasses scattered everywhere in the steppe. Boys wear a very short cape, (oil jaring, a jaring), covering only the belly and back;



Fig. 34

/121 cont./

- 291 married men wear a similarly cut, but considerably longer cape, which is called en gjotha (a juthá) and usually, but not always, is undecorated. For protection against the often sharp cold, especially in the rainy season, the warrior wears no other article of clothing, but, while sitting, simply draws the cape also over the left shoulder and -- the arm. The ai magti is made by a sister or the favorite girl of the ai magti. The clothing of the women is not quite so simple, but also is certainly not luxurious. It consists of two large leather aprons made out of gashkin sewed together. The lower one (ai apamala, ai apamasa) is put around the hips and stuck fast by means of a tuck-in corner, or held fast with a leather belt (ai allida, a allida) embroidered in a zigzag pattern with colored beads. The ai magti, upper one (ai apashala, ai apashala) is bound on the right shoulder and /121/ leaves the left shoulder and left breast free. The upper garment is rarely decorated with a few beads, the lower one almost always. Most common is a row of small colored beads running around the lower edge; often too the inserted patches have beads sewed around them. Old men and fatherless boys and girls during the healing of the circumcision wounds wear an apron that has the same form as the upper garment of the women, but a considerably greater length. It is called ai gait (ai gait) and, depending on its wear, is designated as ai gait | ai mabak, ai gait | ai mabak, ai gait | ai mabak, ai gait | ai mabak. Among the men it is bound on hip and shoulder on the right side, among the girls /121/ it appears here/ bound under the arms with a strap and around the hips with a belt, whereas by the ai allida it is mostly hung around the body rope-fashion.

The ai magti (Fig. 37) is its customary shape (ai magti, a magti) forms the underwear for all without distinction as to sex and age. It is made from the thick back-side of the bull.

As among all primitive peoples, the richness of the ornamentation used is contrast to the simple clothing. This is most manifest among the warriors and the young women.

/126.1001/

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III. 44. Women's costumes.

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(137)

/137/ The favorite dance and war ornament on the head of the warrior is the well-known face frame with ostrich feathers stuck around it. It resembles /III. 45 and Figs. 39 and 40 appear here/ of two leather disks sewed one on the other, the front one of which bears a row of narrow medallions attached on a strip of thin goat leather, which serve for holding the feathers. The most popular ones, as the name asidra, /141/ "the beautiful" (which, incidentally, also holds for ornamentation in general), says, are those of black feathers; if made of white feathers it is called ah gikik, and if it bears only one white feather at the top, ah daga. Besides that, they have such frames made out of the best wood of a liana vine.

(132)

At their highest point is such the tail of a Colobus monkey
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 185]

/Illustrations from p. 139 of the original source./

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Merker (1895)

III. 45. Costumes of the women and children.

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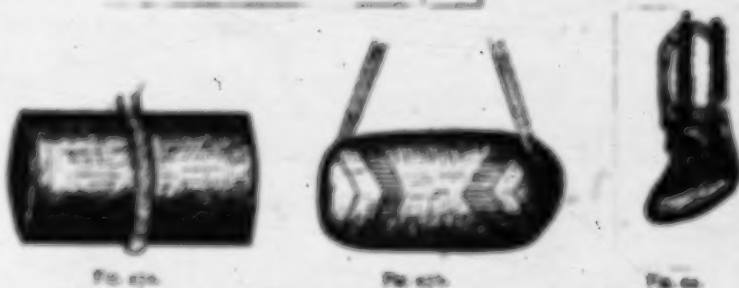
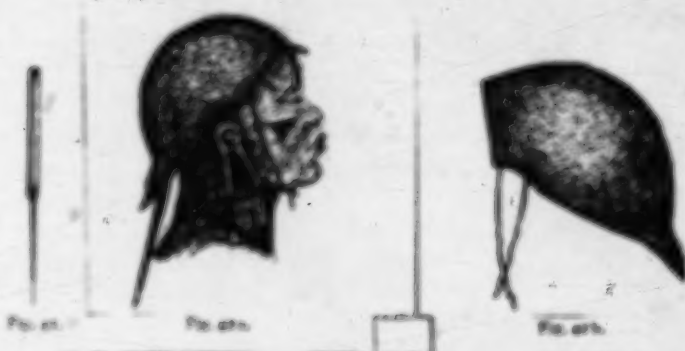
Fig. 29



Fig. 30

140 cont.

(ol goni, Colobus concolor) drawn onto a stick. The ornament is called ol bidibi (ol bidibidi). At the forehead and occiput the frame is held fast by a strap (a recher) passing through it, while its lower end is clamped under the chin or lower lip. Another



ornament is bent W-shaped out of Ilasa wood and hung with feathers (ol maralguoch (Fig. 40)). Also popular among the warriors in the field and for dancing, but rarer, are the foot-high, pointed warrior caps, oligara, with the designation of the skin added, made out of the skin of wild animals. The cap usually consisted of only one type of skin; more rarely a narrow strip of

/140 cont./

another skin is sewed on the seam going from the tip toward the back. Most common are the caps out of lion manes (ol ugaru kitok or ol giatun) a lion) or the skin of the baboon (ol dōdāl, *Papio cynocephalus*), resembling it almost perfectly in appearance.

Furthermore they use the skin of the leopard (ol ugaru gēri: gēri a spotted), Indian leopard (*Cynaelurus guttatus*, ol /141/ *genia* l ascho = calf-devourer), serval (*Felis serval*, en gerami = biter, he only bites the goats and sucks their blood), Colobus monkey, jackal, and hyena dog (ol oiber gidofoi). A strap holds the cap fast under the chin. The warrior sews the cap himself. Awi (ol dedo, el dedi (Fig. 41)) and a twined cattle tendon (en obini) serve as needle and thread for all needlework. Another cap worn by warriors, boys and older men has the shape of a baby's bonnet (Figs. 42 a and b); it is made out of the honeycomb of a head of cattle and often adorned on the edges with small beads.

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Fig. 41a.



Fig. 41b.



Fig. 41c.



Fig. 41d.



Marker photo.

III. 42. Ear ornament of the man.

/144 cont./

yellow long-tailed monkey (*Cercopithecus pygerrhirus*, *en dörsach*), the black long-tailed monkey (*C. albicularis*, *ol gema*), the honey badger (*Mellivora ratel*, *ol beles*), and a few other smaller animals.

Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower arm, those warriors who are generous and benevolent, the *n gamnini*, wear a cuff (Fig. 56) that consists of rows of iron beads (*el dorogon* or *el gabaten*) put close together, in whose place in more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then /145/ putting these, strung on thin strips of sheep leather, around the lower

arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the *n gamnin* express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, so that, as was said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. More rarely than among warriors, the ornament is also found on one or another of the young girls living in the warrior kraal. If a girl has no brother belonging to the warrior standing, but does have a wealthy father, she receives from the latter both milch cows and an occasional



III. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

301 /145 cont./

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piece of slaughtered livestock. She then generously distributes milk and meat and thus acquires the position of benefactress.

The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are stuck into a more or less complete armor of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment shrinks to a few coils. These tubes are called es segeŋel = iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as es segeŋel ol beraŋgasch for the upper arm, es segeŋel en dagile for the lower arm, es segeŋel ol oreschet = what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (es segeŋel e murt), /146/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

[48]

Warriors in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (enŋ ene om boldē; enŋ ene is any strap, om boldē = the hip). Little girls also wear a like-worked strap; it then bears a row of small chains in front as a fig leaf and is called en dorē (pl. en dorēn). Older girls and women wear around their hips an inch-wide belt likewise stitched with beads (Fig. 57), which holds the leather apron together. Boys and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white neat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 58), and around each ankle a small bell (en duāl, en /Figs. 57-61 appear here/ duālīn [Fig. 59]) tied on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible tinkle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and white strips of skin (e mōnge, e mōngen) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (Colobus caudatus).

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Figure 21.

A Masai junior elder from Tanganyika. He has served his period as a warrior, then at the olingesherr ceremony he shaved off his pigtail hair-do and became a junior elder. The facial scarification marks him as belonging to one of the fringe sub-sections of the Masai tribe.

362 started in and under the dung it is similar to a pest
Yire and virtually impossible to put out.

708 Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or
at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

75 (People who are very seriously ill are removed from the
boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn
boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain
there at night also. It was difficult to learn much
definite about this practice. A disabled person spending
the night outside a boma is very likely to end up
[177] inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this
[178] efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai
have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons'
bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights
as well as days.

262 Food: Traditionally the Masai are supposed to
survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In
Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho

234 (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The
462 cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little
234 girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These
415 calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately
[531] decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the
[384] Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and
[291] hair styles.

231/ When they have enough blood, the thong is released and
272 the small wound covered with mud or dung, and the animal runs off apparently none the worse for wear. The blood is drunk warm, or mixed with milk.

146 Although they are thin, the Masai appear adequately nourished, and they have great physical endurance. The Ministry of Health doctors told us that Masailand was the only part of East Africa in their experience where the children did not show signs of Kwashiorkor or the other diseases of malnutrition that are so common with Africans. Gale (1960) noted that the greatest defect in the diet of the East Africans is lack of animal protein, but this is true of the Masai only in times of extreme drought.

• 291
[386] Clothing, Jewelry and Utensils: The traditional clothing of Masai men and women is an ochre colored
of cloth
cloak, usually gathered over one shoulder. Some wear
(292) skins, usually of sheep. A cow hide is used for a rain coat. Most Masai men wear sandals made from heavy leather or old rubber automobile tires. Very little else is worn by either Masai men or women, except near missions where the women occasionally wear more concealing cloaks.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL COLLECTION FROM KILIMA-NJARO. 407

- RINGS.** For the finger, made of a coil of copper wire. Worn by women. 151227 ^C 301
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151227 ^C 326
- BEADED BELT.** Round belt of blue beads. Loops at the end for securing. Worn by females. 151573 ^C 301
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151573 ^C 291
- BELT.** Round belt, beaded. Worn by women and girls. Sometimes a dozen are worn at one time, and the apron hung over them in front. 151207 ^M 291
Length, 27 inches. 151207 ^M 291
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151207 ^M 301
- BELT.** Flat band of leather, beaded. 151208 ^C 301
Masai tribe; East Africa. 151208 ^C 301
- BELT.** Leather band, beaded. 151209
Masai tribe; East Africa. 151209
- BELT.** Made of leather and beaded. 121210 ^C 301
Width, 1½ inches. 121210 ^C 301
Masai tribe; East Africa. 121210 ^C 301
- ANKLET.** Cowrie shells, with dorsal portions removed, strung to a leather band. 151230
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151230
- ANKLE-RATTLES.** Little iron bells of semilunar outline, with a slit at the bottom formed by the juxtaposition of the edges. The clappers are small iron balls. The bells are strung on a thong of leather by means of double holes in the top. 151231 ^C 326
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151231 ^C 326
- ANKLETS.** Made of monkey fur. 151229 ^M 301
Masai tribe; Njiri, East Africa. 151229 ^M 301
- LEGLET.** Of monkey skin (*Colobus esudatus*), and worn on the calves of the legs with the joined ends in front, tied with thongs of rawhide. Edges beaded. 151543
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151543
- LEGLET.** Of black monkey skin, beaded around upper edge. 151544 ^C 197
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151544 ^C 197
- LEGLET.** Bands of black monkey skin, worn after the fashion of the Masai. 151545
Wa Chaga tribe; Kaho district, south of Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151545
- LEGLET.** Made of reddish gray monkey skin, beaded around upper edge. 151546 ^C 413
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151546 ^C 413
- PLUME.** Made by drawing the skin of two monkey tails over a stick. Probably used as fly-flappers. 151551 ^C 237
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151551 ^C 237
- PLUME.** Monkey-tail skin. Probably used as a fly flapper. 151552
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151552